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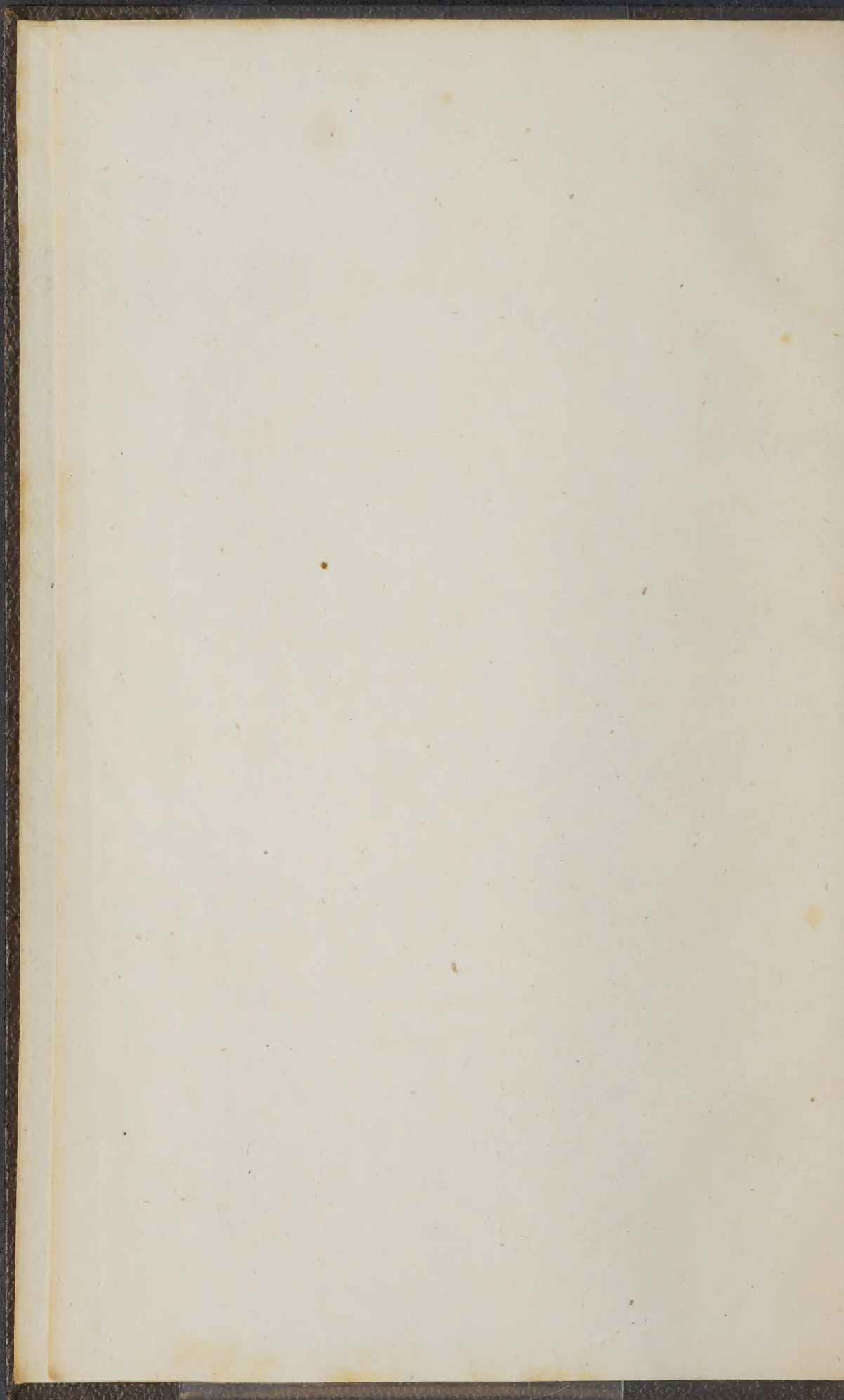
THE WORKS OF SHAKESPEARE

THE REV. J. DUFF, M.A.

J. PAYNE COLLIER, B.A.

THOMAS BURN

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NEW PARTICULARS

REGARDING

THE WORKS OF SHAKESPEARE.

IN A LETTER TO

THE REV. A. DYCE, B.A.

EDITOR OF THE WORKS OF PEELE, GREENE, WEBSTER, &c.

FROM

J. PAYNE COLLIER, F.S.A.

LONDON :

THOMAS RODD,

GREAT NEWPORT STREET, LONG ACRE.

1836.

LONDON:

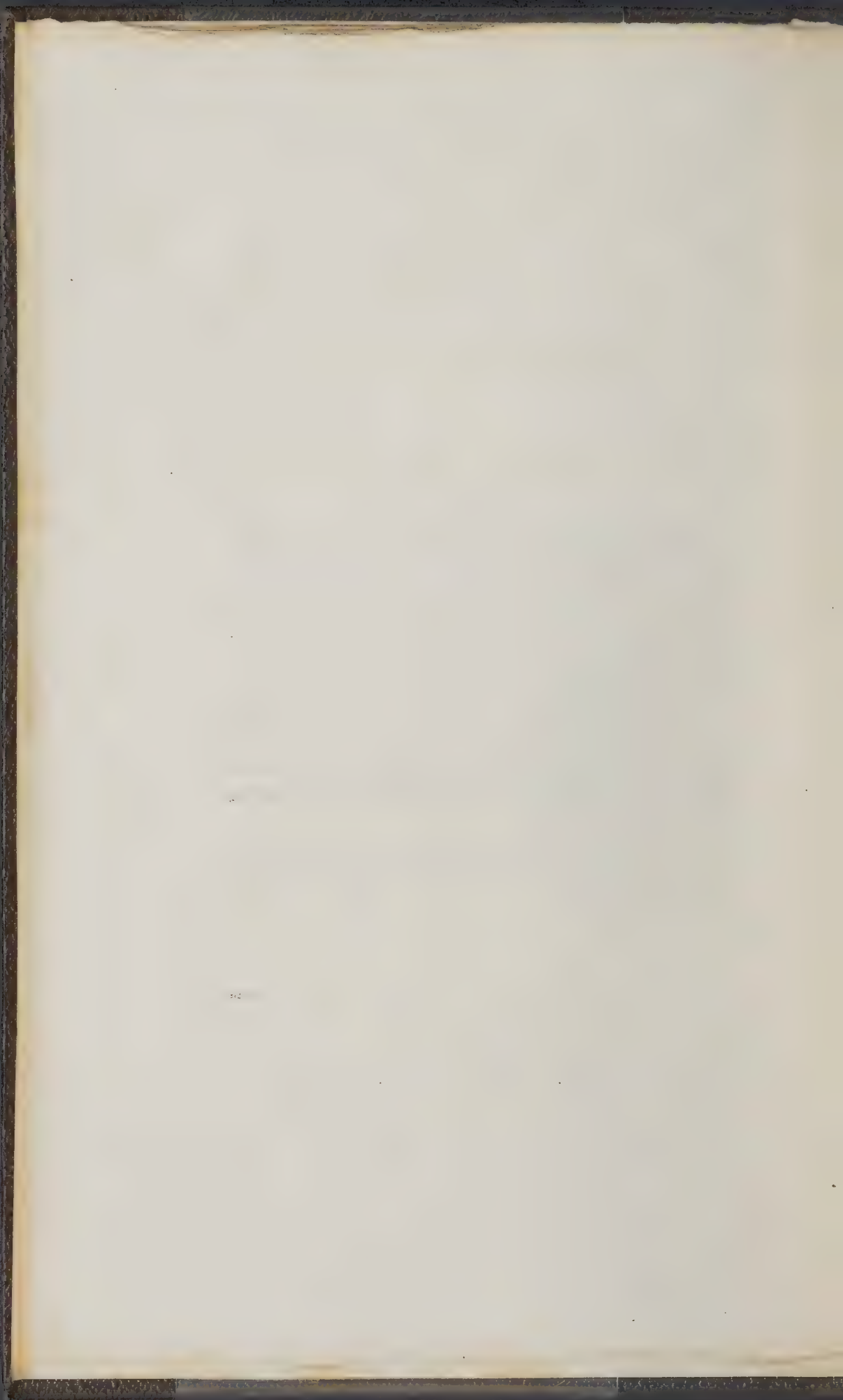
F. SHOBERL, JUN., LEICESTER STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present letter, like the "New Facts regarding the Life of Shakespeare," is limited to a small number of copies—very small in comparison with the interest of the subject.

It relates to some of the most important of Shakespeare's dramatic works—*Richard the Second*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, *Macbeth*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Othello*, &c.; and assigns to him poems recently discovered, and only existing in manuscript. The information thus supplied the author apprehends is entirely new.

Other circumstances connected with our early Poets, Stage, and Players, will be found incidentally illustrated.



NEW PARTICULARS
REGARDING
THE WORKS OF SHAKESPEARE.

MY DEAR DYCE,

As I do not well know how to arrange the materials, (miscellaneous in their nature, though uniform in their purpose), of my present communication, I shall refrain from making any attempt of the kind : of course, you feel so lively an interest in all that relates to Shakespeare and his works, that an inevitable degree of desultoriness will not deter you from reading what follows with more than mere curiosity. Were such a letter addressed to me, I am not sure that I should not like it the better for the very reason which, were I more systematic in my reading, would make me like it the worse. However, you must take it "for better for worse," and we are told that,

"Books are like wives, in sheets or bound,
Seldom without digressions;
And children, as the years come round,
Are only new impressions."

At all events, as you have made the one a substitute for the other, to send you any thing new of a literary

nature is a species of charity, since it furnishes you with a fresh source of enjoyment. Without more preface, therefore, I shall begin.

When I was at Oxford, six or seven years ago, looking for materials for the "History of Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," I heard of the existence, in the Bodleian Library, of a Manuscript containing notes on the performance of some of Shakespeare's plays, written by a person who saw them acted during the life-time of the poet. These would have been a great prize to me, and I made long and repeated searches for them, but without success. The fact is, that I was accidentally put upon a wrong scent; and, had I been upon a right one, in that immense receptacle of rarities, I might easily have failed in making the wished-for discovery. The MSS. were not then as well arranged as at present, and even now, without previous and correct information, the most eager hunt might sometimes be ineffectual. Not long since a gentleman of my acquaintance, of peculiar acquirements, was employed to make a catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS. only, and he, very unexpectedly, found among them the notes I had anxiously sought in a different direction. He instantly forwarded a copy of them to me.

They are contained in the Ashmolean volume, No. 208, and bear the following title:—"The Booke of Plaies and Notes therof, & Formans, for common Pollicie," and they were written by Dr. Simon For-

man, the celebrated Physician and Astrologer, who lived in Lambeth, the same parish in which Elias Ashmole afterwards resided. Forman was implicated in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, but he died in 1611, before the trial,* the register of his burial in Lambeth churchyard being dated on the 12th of September, in that year. The last date in his "Book of Plays" is the 15th of May, 1611, so

* Among the Bridgewater MSS. is a curious letter from Thomas Bone to Sir John Egerton, giving an account of the arraignment and trial of Mrs. Turner and others, and containing the following passage, which shows the manner in which Forman was posthumously implicated.

"Divers other letters written with her (the Csse of Essex's) owne hand, one to the Lieutenant himself, one to Mrs. Turner, and one to Mr. Dr. Foreman, which was long after his death found by great chance in the pocket of his hose, (and which letter she hath acknowledged to the Lords to be her hand) which it is impossible for the witt of man to answere with a cleer conscience, were publiquely read this day. In that letter to Foreman she begins thus — 'Sweet Father, I must still crave your helpe. I pray keep the Lord sure vnto mee, else I shall be most miserable. The world forsakes mee and the heavens are against me. And for my Lord (meaning the Earle of Essex), hee is still lusty and merry, and as dogged to me as ever he was.' This honest and honourable Lord was present this day in Court amongst other honorable auditors of both sexes. The Ladyes private and sundry runnings to Foreman, &c. her other lascivious meetings with the Earl of Somerset at Mrs. Turner's and elsewhere, I pass over now, and so they were at the arraignment without any contradiction."

Weldon says that Chief Justice Coke, who presided, found his own wife's name on the first leaf of the book in which Forman entered his visitors.

that he was a frequenter of the theatres until a short period before his sudden decease in a boat on the Thames. He was notorious long before his connection with Lady Essex, and excited a vast deal of jealousy on the part of the regular medical practitioners of London, by giving unlicensed advice to the sick, as well as by casting nativities; but he was at length able to procure a degree from Cambridge, and I find him thus mentioned among "the Physicians of London," in a MS. in the possession of the late Mr. Heber, written early in the reign of James I.

"Dr. Forman, in art a poor man,
You calculate nativities,
And by an Almanack out of date, tell a fool his fate
By the celestial privities.

"Though to your great expense, you did commence
In the famous University,
Yet, by such a hap, an ass may wear a velvet cap,
And there's the true diversity."

The words "for common policy" in the title of Forman's "Notes" mean that he made these remarks upon plays he saw represented, because they afforded a useful lesson of prudence or "policy" for the "common" affairs of life. I do not understand how it happens that the dates of his "Notes" are so irregular, but he begins with the 30th of April, 1611, goes on to the 15th of May, in the same year, and ends with the 20th of April, 1610. I shall take

them in the order in which he has placed them. The first entry is entitled,

“ In Richard 2. at the Globe,
1611, the 30 of Aprill, Thursday.”

At first sight one would suppose that this heading referred to Shakespeare's *Richard the Second*, the earliest edition of which was printed in 1597; but it is clear, from the account Forman gives of the plot, that it was a different play, and it will strike every body as a singular circumstance, that, at the very theatre, the Globe on the Bank-side, to which Shakespeare belonged, and in the receipts of which he was interested, an historical drama on the events of the reign of Richard II. should be performed, as far as we know, not the work of our great dramatist, and which seems to have superseded his play. Before I make any farther observations, it may be as well to quote what Forman says respecting the drama and its plot. As nothing depends upon the peculiarity of spelling, I shall not think it necessary to adhere to it.

“ Remember therein how Jack Straw, by his overmuch boldness, not being politic nor suspecting any thing, was suddenly at Smithfield Bars stabbed by Walworth, the Mayor of London; and so he and his whole army was overthrown. Therefore, in such case, or the like, never admit any party without a bar between, for a man cannot be too wise, nor keep himself too safe.

“ Also remember how the Duke of Glocester, the Earl of Arundel, Oxford and others, crossing the King in his humour about the Duke of Erland [Ireland] and Bushy, were glad to fly and raise a host of men; and being in his castle, how the Duke of Erland came by night to betray him, with 300 men;

but, having privy warning thereof, kept his gates fast, and would not suffer the enemy to enter, which went back again with a fly in his ear, and after was slain by the Earl of Arundel in the battle.

“Remember, also, when the Duke [*i. e.* of Gloucester] and Arundel came to London with their army, King Richard came forth to them and met them, and gave them fair words and promised them pardon, and that all should be well, if they would discharge their army: upon whose promises and fair speeches they did it; and after, the King bid them all to a banquet, and so betrayed them and cut off their heads, &c. because they had not his pardon under his hand and seal before, but his word.

“Remember therein also how the Duke of Lancaster privily contrived all villainy to set them all together by the ears, and to make the nobility to envy the King and mislike him and his government; by which means he made his own son King, which was Henry Bolingbroke.

“Remember, also, how the Duke of Lancaster asked a wise man whether himself should ever be King, and he told him no, but his son should be a King: and when he had told him, he hanged him up for his labour, because he should not bruit abroad, or speak thereof to others. This was a policy in the Commonwealth’s opinion, but I say it was a villain’s part, and a Judas’ kiss to hang the man for telling him the truth. Beware by this example of noblemen and their fair words, and say little to them, lest they do the like to thee for thy good will.”

Here various incidents are related not to be found in Shakespeare’s play: for instance, Jack Straw is not even mentioned there:—we know nothing from Shakespeare of such a personage as the Duke of Ireland, who endeavoured to seize the Duke of Gloucester and his friends by treachery:—our great dramatist

* Stow, in his *Chronicle*, p. 482, edit. 1605, speaks thus of the Duke of Ireland:—“Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland,

says not a word about a banquet at which Richard II. betrayed his rebellious nobles and subsequently beheaded them; an incident supported by no historical authority:—he is totally silent as to the supposed machinations of the Duke of Lancaster in favour of his son, and as to his consulting and hanging the “wise man,” an event that naturally produced a strong sympathetic impression upon Forman. This is all new, and it is certain, therefore, that the play acted on Thursday the 30th of April, 1611, was not the work of Shakespeare, as it has come down to us, but probably of some other dramatist.

You will remember that when Sir Gilly Merrick was arraigned for his concern in the insurrection, headed by the Earls of Essex and Southampton, in 1601, it was alleged against him that, the afternoon before the rebellion, Merrick, with a great company of others, that were afterwards all in the action, had

forsooke his wife, a young lady, noble and fair, born of the Lady Isabel, daughter to the noble King Edward, and married another that came with Queen Anne forth of Boheme: she was called in the vulgar tongue of her country, Lancrona. The Lords took indignation herewith, especially the Duke of Gloucester, uncle to the young lady that was forsaken. The Duke of Ireland studied how to take the Duke of Gloucester out of the way;” and then the old Annalist mentions the manner in which Richard II. contrived to defeat this design. This seems to be the origin of the incident in the play which Forman saw. According to the best authorities, the Duke of Ireland was subsequently banished, and died in great poverty and misery at Louvaine, and not, as Forman states, in battle against the Earl of Arundel.

procured to be played before them the play of the "deposing of Richard the Second." [Bacon's Works, Mallet's edition, iv., 320.] This, I apprehend, might be the same drama which Forman saw in 1611; for, though he says nothing of the event of the "deposing of Richard the Second," it is, I think, clear, from the fourth and fifth paragraphs of what is above quoted, that Henry Bolingbroke became king during the play, and, therefore, that it must have included the "deposing of Richard the Second." Forman does not mention it, perhaps, because it afforded no note "for common policy" as regarded himself. In the State Trials, vii., 60, it is asserted that "the killing of the King was set forth upon the stage" on the occasion referred to, and it is more than probable that it formed part of the plot Forman saw represented. It is quite certain that Richard was portrayed in a very disgusting and degraded light, from the base and cruel treachery of which he was guilty to the Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Arundel, after they had submitted upon his promise of pardon; and this would have been an additional inducement with Merrick to procure the play to be acted on the afternoon before the rebellion.*

* Mr. Rodd, of Newport Street, has a valuable MS. of the whole proceedings by and against the Earls of Essex and Southampton, including a very minute detail of their trial. On this occasion, the Attorney General, (Coke), drew an illustration from the events of the reign of Richard II., to which he was no doubt led by the fact that a play on the sub-

In the arraignment of Merrick in Bacon's Works, as well as in the State Trials, we are also informed that the play, being an old one, the actors, when required to revive it, stated that they could "get no-

ject was acted at the instance of the Rebels the day before the insurrection. It is thus introduced:

"'Good Mr. Attorney,' quoth the Earl of Southampton, 'let me ask you what you think in your conscience we would have done to the Queene, if we had gained the Court?'

"'I protest upon my soul and conscience,' quoth the Attorney, 'I do believe she should not long have lived after she had been in your power. Note but the precedent of former ages: *how long lived Richard the Second after he was surprised in the same manner?* The pretence was alike, for removing certain Councilors, but it shortly after cost the King his life.'"

Upon the same point the following quotation from Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense*, p. 89, to which my attention was kindly directed by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, will be interesting. "Lambarde having been appointed keeper of the Records in the Tower, made a pandect of them, which he wished the Countess of Warwick to lay before the Queen, but she refused to receive the work from any hand but his own. He accordingly presented it to her at Greenwich. Her Majesty then looked it over, and asked various questions as to the names of the different Rolls, the meaning of which Lambarde severally explained; and the Queen, seeming well satisfied, said, 'that shee would be a scholler in her age, and thought it noe scorne to learne duringe her life, being of the minde of that philosopher, who in his last yeares begann with the Greeke Alphabet.' As her Majesty proceeded she came to the reign of King Richard the Second, and in allusion to his being deposed, and to the recent rebellion of the Earl of Essex, she said, 'I am Richard the Second, knowe yee not that?' to which he replied, 'Such a wicked imagination was determined and attempted by a most unkind gentleman; the most adorned creature that ever your Majestie made.' 'He,' said the Queen, 'that will forgett God will alsoe forgett his benefactors.'"

thing by playing it, as it would not draw an audience :” in order, therefore, to compensate them, Sir Gilly Merrick gave to Phillips (one of the principal actors in the company with Shakespeare), forty shillings in addition to what might be taken at the doors. It is not impossible that the circumstance of its revival at such a time, and for such a purpose, gave the old play a new interest, and that it continued to be acted subsequently in preference to Shakespeare’s admirable drama. It certainly contains a great deal more attractive “ blood and death,” and some of the minor poets of the day might have been employed, after 1601, to adapt and alter it so as to render it again popular. There are several reasons which should make it not difficult to be believed that Shakespeare’s *Richard the Second*, (though printed four times during the author’s life), would not be so well liked by ignorant spectators as a drama such as that described by Forman. I do not know how in any other way to account for the fact that a play, which was not Shakespeare’s *Richard the Second*, was acted by his company, founded upon the period of history of which he had availed himself.

Malone calls Pope’s an “ idle notion,” that some parts of Shakespeare’s *Richard the Second* bear marks of a different hand, but I cannot help concurring in the opinion, although not because some portions of the play are in rhyme and others in blank verse. It seems to me, that in what relates to old

York and his son Aumerle, in Act V., there is a marked dissimilarity of style to nearly all the rest of the production, and I think Shakespeare preserved that portion from an old drama on which he founded his work, partly because he wanted the incident to make out a fifth act, and still more because it had been popular with audiences before his own *Richard the Second* was performed. I once thought that the old imperfect four-act play of *The Life and Death of Jack Straw*, printed in 1593, might have been part of the play Sir Gilly Merrick procured to be acted, but what is left of it (for there are unquestionably great omissions), wholly relates to the insurrection of Wat Tiler, and, while it is too little for an entire play, it is too much to give room for the introduction of the deposition and death of Richard the Second. Besides, John of Gaunt and Bolingbroke are not even spoken of in it, and the tendency of all that remains is merely loyal, and such as to raise our opinion of Richard both for courage and clemency. Sir Gilly Merrick wished to produce a contrary feeling; and this is one reason, among others, for deciding that Shakespeare's *Richard the Second*, which, as Dr. Johnson has observed, contains passages strongly inculcating the doctrine of the indefeasible right of kings, was not the piece selected, but the unrecovered play which Forman saw represented ten years afterwards.*

* Since what precedes was written, it has been suggested to me by a friend in every way competent to form a correct

I now come to the notes and observations, "for common policy" made by Forman on three of Shakespeare's undoubted productions, and the first is *The*

opinion, that the play described by Forman might be a *first part* of *Richard the Second*, and by Shakespeare, the existing drama being a *second part*. His reasoning is very acute and judicious, and, as I asked him to put his thoughts upon paper, I subjoin them in his own words.

James Street,

December 9, 1835.

DEAR COLLIER,

At your desire, I will give you, as briefly as I can, the reasons which induce me to believe that the Play which Forman saw, on the story of *Richard the Second*, was only a *first part* of Shakspeare's Play, and might not improbably have been written by Shakspeare himself.

I. It seems unlikely that a single Play, even in that age, would comprise all the complexed events of Richard's reign, from the Smithfield Insurrection in his early youth, down to his Deposition and Death.

II. It does not appear to me that Forman so describes it. He speaks, it is true, of the Duke of Lancaster having *contrived* "to make the Nobility envy the king, and mislike him and his government, *by which means* he made his own son king;" but he does not state that, *in the action of the Play*, this purpose was effected, nor could it have been so, since Lancaster died before Richard's Deposition. It would seem, therefore, that he mentions the completion of Lancaster's purpose merely as a *known historical fact*, which occurred after Lancaster's death, and after the action of the Play had concluded.

III. I am the more confirmed in this belief by the notice which Forman afterwards gives of Lancaster having hanged the wise man whom he had consulted—an event which would thus seem to have been, in the representation, subsequent to his *contrivings*.

IV. Had the Deposition been shewn on the stage, it is next to impossible that Forman, whose delight it was to "moralize"

Winter's Tale, of which he witnessed the performance "at the Globe, 1611, the 15th of May, Wednesday." Malone was long undecided as to the period when

each "spectacle," (though not exactly in the manner of Jaques) could have passed over so remarkable an incident.

V. Shakspeare's Play begins immediately after the period at which the Drama which Forman saw seems to have closed—namely, that of Gloucester's death, an event particularly noticed in the Combat Scene.

VI. That any other Play than Shakspeare's on the story of *Richard the Second* should have been acted in 1611, at the Globe Theatre, with which he had been so long and so intimately connected, is an event at which you, with good reason, express much surprise.

VII. It has been thought worthy of remark, even a century ago, by Theobald, that Shakspeare's Play should have been called in the first folio, "The Life and Death of King Richard the Second," though it comprises little more than the two last years of his reign. May we not infer that this was the title of the two parts, but that the first had, through some accident, (the loss perhaps of the MS.) been omitted to be printed?

VIII. It appears strange to me, that Shakspeare, in selecting for his Play events from Richard's reign, should have omitted one so remarkably fitted to his pen and humour as that of Wat Tyler's and Jack Straw's Insurrection. It is true that, at an early period, he had brought on the stage the story of Cade's Rebellion, but the circumstances which occasioned the two convulsions were very different, and in Shakspeare's hands would have been much diversified. If the Play which Forman saw was Shakspeare's, its principal characters, besides Richard himself, were probably Wat Tyler, the turbulent Gloucester, and the favourite Duke of Ireland, all of them such as Shakspeare would have traced with a masterly hand.

IX. Should my conjecture be right, Shakspeare's first Play would have *dove-tailed* itself into his second, much in

this play was written : he first fixed upon 1594, then upon 1604, and finally concluded pretty safely, from an entry in Sir Henry Herbert's Register, that it was licensed by Sir George Buc in the latter end of 1610, or in the beginning of 1611. Forman gives us no

the manner in which his two parts of *Henry the Fourth* and three parts of *Henry the Sixth* are linked together. In fact, the whole series of his historical Plays, from *Richard the Second* to *Richard the Third* inclusive, are thus dove-tailed ; and, with the addition of the first part of the former Play, would present an unbroken chain of seven successive reigns, down to the termination of the Plantagenet line at the Battle of Bosworth, comprising a period of rather more than a century.

X. If you ask why, if the Play in question were really Shakspeare's, it was not printed in his lifetime, I answer that this was the case with more than half the Plays which afterwards appeared in the first folio, including some very popular ones, and more particularly the three others which Forman describes, namely, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale* — all seen by him twelve or thirteen years before they were printed at all.

XI. If it be further asked why this Play was not included in the first folio with those collected by Shakspeare's "pious fellows," I reply that this was not the case with *Pericles*, which you believe to have been his genuine work ; neither was *Troilus and Cressida* inserted in it at first, having been subsequently thrust into the volume unpagged.

XII. As some of Shakspeare's best Plays were not printed in his lifetime, nor till seven years after his death, it does not seem extraordinary that the MS. of the first part of *Richard the Second* should not have been forthcoming in 1623. You, indeed, lately told me that you thought it not improbable that several of his Plays had never yet been printed. If so, is it an unreasonable guess that this first part of *Richard the Second* may have been among them ?

information of the kind, but we may, perhaps, presume that when he saw *The Winter's Tale* on the 15th of May, 1611, it was a new play.* We do not know that it was printed until it was included in the folio of 1623; but there can be no doubt, from the subsequent

Though I despair of producing *conviction*, you will, perhaps, in your technical phrase, charitably allow that I have made out a case to go to the Jury.

Ever sincerely your's,

T. AMYOT.

To this reasoning it may be objected, (besides the points adverted to in the preceding letter), that no dramatist of any age has observed more unity of character than Shakespeare, and that the character of Richard II., as related by Forman, with its treachery and cruelty, would not be at all consistent with the character drawn of him in Shakespeare's undoubted play, which is in itself accordant with history. My friend argues very ingeniously, to get over the difficulty arising out of Forman's Narrative, that the Duke of Lancaster "made his own son King," as I apprehend, *in the course of the play*; because Forman pretends to give nothing but what he saw represented on the 30th of April, 1611. Taking it either way, the facts are curious, and certainly quite as interesting, if we suppose Forman to give an account of the plot of a lost play by Shakespeare.

* In the introduction to your excellent edition of Greene's Works, 8vo., 1831, you mention that the novel of *Dorastus and Fawnia*, on which Shakespeare founded his *Winter's Tale*, having been originally published in 1588, was reprinted in 1607; but you omit an edition of 1609, which is probably the very one used by our great Dramatist. You, also, state that the running title of *Dorastus and Fawnia* was transferred to the title-page after the first edition, which was called *Pandosto—The Triumph of Time*, &c. I have an edition of 1632 before me, not included in your list, which follows exactly the title of the earliest known copy in 1588.

observations of Forman, of the identity of the piece of which he speaks with Shakespeare's drama.

"Observe there how Leontes King of Sicilia was overcome with jealousy of his wife with the King of Bohemia, his friend that came to see him; and how he contrived his death, and would have had his Cup-bearer to have poisoned [him], who gave the King of Bohemia warning thereof, and fled with him to Bohemia.

"Remember, also, how he sent to the Oracle of Apollo, and the answer of Apollo that she was guiltless, and that the King was jealous, &c., and how, except the child was found again that was lost, the King should die without issue; for the child was carried into Bohemia, and there laid in a forest, and brought up by a shepherd. And the King of Bohemia's son married that wench, and how they fled into Sicilia to Leontes—and the shepherd having showed the letter of the nobleman whom Leontes sent, it was that child, and [by] the jewels found about her, she was known to be Leontes daughter, and was then sixteen years old.

"Remember, also, the Rogue that came in all tattered, like Coll Pipci, and how he feigned him sick and to have been robbed of all he had, and how he cozened the poor man of all his money, and after came to the sheep-sheer with a pedlar's packe, and there cozened them again of all their money. And how he changed apparel with the King of Bohemia's son, and then how he turned Courtier, &c.

"Beware of trusting feigned beggars or fawning fellows."

With some omissions, this description follows Shakespeare's story pretty exactly.* Forman was principally struck by, and therefore noted such parts

* It would prove little that Forman gives the piece the same name as Shakespeare's play, because it was not very uncommon for two authors to adopt the same, or nearly the same title, and a "winter's tale," like "an old wive's tale," (which Peele adopted for one of his Dramas), was an ordinary ex-

as contained a moral for his own use and guidance : although he only mentions the name of one of the persons, he lays the scene exactly in the same countries, and does not make any observation upon the geographical blunder of representing Bohemia as a maritime kingdom, on which Ben Jonson severely remarked in his conversation with Drummond of Hawthornden. A good deal has been said by the Commentators upon this point, but I will risk a quotation from a popular author of the time, who ridicules a vulgar error of the kind, but who cannot be supposed to have been very well educated himself—I mean Taylor, the Water-poet. He made a journey to Prague in 1620, nine years after *The Winter's Tale* was acted, and on his return he published an account of his expedition : the address to the reader contains the following paragraph, laughing at the ignorance of the Aldermen of London on matters of geography—“ I am no sooner eased of him, but Gregory Gander-goose, an Alderman of Gotham, catches me by the goll, demanding if Bohemia be a great town, whether there be any meat in it, and *whether the last fleet of ships be arrived there ?*” You, who know, with all their reading, how much the commentators on Shake-

pression. We meet with it, among other places, in Marlow and Nash's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, 1594, Act iii., Scene iv., where Eneas says,

“ Who would not undergo all kind of toil
To be well stor'd with such a *winter's tale ?*”

speare necessarily left unread, will not be surprised at this passage having escaped them, however apposite. Sir Gregory Gandergoose had derived his knowledge from such sources as Greene's *Dorastus and Fawnia* and *The Winter's Tale*.

Forman does not state at what date, nor where, he saw *Cymbeline*, but it must have been about the same time, and probably at the same theatre. Malone was of opinion that it was first played in 1609, though, like *The Winter's Tale*, not printed until 1623. Forman's account of the plot of *Cymbeline* runs thus :

"Remember, also, the story of Cymbeline King of England in Lucius' time: how Lucius came from Octavius Cæsar for tribute, and being denied, after sent Lucius with a great army of soldiers, who landed at Milford Haven, and after were vanquished by Cymbeline and Lucius taken prisoner, and all by means of three Outlaws, of the which two of them were the sons of Cymbeline, stolen from him when they were but two years old, by an old man whom Cymbeline banished; and he kept them as his own sons twenty years with him in a cave. And how one of them slew Cloten, that was the Queen's son, going to Milford Haven to seek the love* of Imogen the King's daughter, whom† he had banished also for loving his daughter.

"And how the Italian that came from her love conveyed himself into a chest, and said it was a chest of plate sent from her love and others to be presented to the King. And in the deepest of the night, she being asleep, he opened the chest

* *the love*, i. e. the husband, Posthumus. Cloten goes to Milford Haven with the intention of first killing Posthumus, and then ravishing Imogen.

† *whom*, i. e. Posthumus.

and came forth of it, and viewed her in her bed and the marks of her body, and took away her bracelet, and after accused her of adultery to her love, &c. And, in the end, how he came with the Romans into England, and was taken prisoner, and after revealed to Imogen, who had turned herself into man's apparel and fled to meet her love at Milford Haven; and chanced to fall on the cave in the woods where her two brothers were: and how by eating a sleeping dram they thought she had been dead, and laid her in the woods, and the body of Cloten by her, in her loves apparel that he left behind him, and how she was found by Lucius, &c."

This, you will perceive, is curious, principally because it gives the impression of the plot upon the mind of a spectator, at about the time when the play was first produced. The assertion that the chest of plate was sent from Posthumus and others to be presented to King Cymbeline arose no doubt from a lapse of Forman's memory: if it had been for Cymbeline, and not for the Emperor, there would have been no reason for not delivering it at once to the king, instead of depositing it in Imogen's chamber. As this review of *Cymbeline* is inserted by Forman between the 15th of May, 1611, and the 20th of April, 1610, we may perhaps conclude that, though undated, it ought to be assigned to some intermediate period.

On the 20th of April, 1610, which happened on a Saturday, the astrological Doctor was present at the Globe at the performance of *Macbeth*, the production of which on the stage Malone fixed in 1606. This may be the right conjecture, and Forman may have seen the tragedy for the first time four years after it was originally brought out; but it is by no

means impossible that 1610 was its earliest season, and it is likely that in April that season had only just commenced at the Globe, which was open to the weather: the King's Players acted at the covered theatre in the Blackfriars during the winter. Malone's reasoning to establish that *Macbeth* was written and acted in 1606, is very inconclusive, and much of it would apply just as well to 1610. At the close of his dissertation, (Shakesp. by Boswell, ii., 440), he assigns grounds to show that *Cymbeline* and *Macbeth* were written about the same time, yet, when settling the date, he makes an interval of three years between them. In Forman's MS. the account of the one immediately follows that of the other, if any speculation can be founded upon that circumstance. His description of the plot of *Macbeth* is more particular and remarkable than perhaps any of the others he has given: he says:

" In *Macbeth*, at the Globe, 1610, the 20th of April, Saturday, there was to be observed, first how *Macbeth* and *Banquo*, two noblemen of Scotland, riding through a wood, there stood before them three women Fairies, or Nymphs, and saluted *Macbeth*, saying three times unto him, Hail, *Macbeth*, King of Codor, for thou shalt be a King, but shalt beget no Kings, &c. Then, said *Banquo*, What all to *Macbeth* and nothing to me? Yes, said the Nymphs, Hail to thee, *Banquo*; thou shalt beget Kings, yet be no King. And so they departed, and came to the Court of Scotland to *Duncan* King of Scots, and it was in the days of *Edward the Confessor*. And *Duncan* had them both kindly welcome, and made *Macbeth* forthwith Prince of Northumberland; and sent him home to his own Castle, and appointed *Macbeth* to provide for him, for he would sup with him the next day at night, and did so.

“And Macbeth contrived to kill Duncan, and through the persuasion of his wife did that night murder the King in his own Castle, being his guest. And there were many prodigies seen that night and the day before. And when Macbeth had murdered the King, the blood on his hands could not be washed off by any means, nor from his wife’s hands, which handled the bloody daggers in hiding them, by which means they became both much amazed and affronted.

“The murder being known, Duncan’s two sons fled, the one to England, the [other to] Wales, to save themselves: they being fled, were supposed guilty of the murder of their father, which was nothing so.

“Then was Macbeth crowned King, and then he for fear of Banquo, his old companion, that he should beget kings but be no king himself, he contrived the death of Banquo, and caused him to be murdered on the way that he rode. The night, being at supper with his noblemen whom he had bid to a feast, (to the which also Banquo should have come), he began to speak of noble Banquo, and to wish that he were there. And as he thus did, standing up to drink a carouse to him, the ghost of Banquo came and sat down in his chair behind him. And he, turning about to sit down again, saw the ghost of Banquo, which fronted him, so that he fell in a great passion of fear and fury, uttering many words about his murder, by which, when they heard that Banquo was murdered, they suspected Macbeth.

“Then Macduff fled to England to the King’s son, and so they raised an army and came into Scotland, and at Dunston Anyse overthrew Macbeth. In the mean time, while Macduff was in England, Macbeth slew Macduff’s wife and children, and after in the battle Macduff slew Macbeth.

“Observe, also, how Macbeth’s Queen did rise in the night in her sleep and walk, and talked and confessed all, and the Doctor noted her words.”

Macbeth is another of the plays not printed until it appeared in the folio of 1623; and besides mis-spelling some of the names, as Mackbet, Mackdove, Dunston

Anyse, &c., Forman's memory seems to have failed him upon particular points: thus, he makes the "Fairies or Nymphs" (*vice* Witches), hail Macbeth as "*King of Codor*," instead of *Thane of Cawdor*, and old Duncan subsequently creates him "*Prince of Northumberland*.*" After the murder, Forman states that neither Macbeth nor his wife could wash the blood from their hands, by reason of which they were both "amazed and affronted." If this were a mob-accordant incident in the play in 1610, it was among the omissions made by the player-editors when it was published in 1623.

Such is the information derived from the manuscript of Forman respecting, as I apprehend, the old play of *Richard the Second*, and three of Shakespeare's undoubted productions, written by him after he ceased to be an actor, and not many years before he relinquished all connection with the stage. *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth*, were certainly the offspring of his maturer years, and in these and others we cannot hesitate to conclude that the principal parts were filled by Richard Burbage, among great actors the greatest actor. In the "History of Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," (i. 430), I quoted a long manuscript Elegy upon him, written soon

* Duncan creates his eldest son, Malcolm, *Prince of Cumberland*, on which Macbeth exclaims,

"The Prince of Cumberland! that is a step
On which I must fall down, or else o'erleap,
For in my way it lies."

after his death, in March, 1619-20, mentioning four of the characters he had sustained, viz., Hamlet, Hieronimo, Lear, and "the cruel Moor," which last I conjectured to be Othello, and not Aaron.* Some time after the publication of my book, the late Mr. Heber showed me a MS. of the same Elegy in his possession, which decided that point, for there "the *grieved* Moor," and not "the cruel Moor," was spoken of; but it did not furnish any additional information regarding the many parts Burbage had sustained. I have since met with a third copy of the same Elegy, in which the list of characters is enlarged from four to no fewer than twenty, of which twelve are in plays by Shakespeare, viz., Hamlet, Romeo, the Prince of Wales, Henry V., Richard III., Macbeth, Brutus, Coriolanus, Shylock,

* The lines are these:

"He's gone, and with him what a world are dead,
Which he reviv'd, to be revived so
No more—young Hamlet, old Hieronimo,
King Lear, the cruel Moor, and more beside."

I have seen two other copies of this Elegy, in which not a single part is specified, and one where Arbaces, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *King and no King*, printed in 1619, is assigned to Burbage in these words:

"Through many parts and many scenes he past,
Began with and play'd Arbaces last."

The name of the character with which he commenced is illegibly obliterated, but perhaps the writer would not have been any great authority on that point, although we should have liked to have had his evidence. We may perhaps accept his statement as to the last character Burbage sustained.

Lear, Pericles, and Othello. The other eight characters are in dramatic productions by various authors; these are Jeronimo, or Hieronimo, in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*; Antonio, in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*; Edward II., probably in the play of the same name by Marlow; Vendice, in Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*; Frankford, in Heywood's *Woman killed with Kindness*; * Brachiano, in Webster's *White Devil*; †

* First printed in 1607. Heywood seems to have been a dramatic writer much earlier than is usually supposed. His first printed play, *Edward the Fourth*, bears date in 1599, but, unless Drayton in his *Matilda*, 1594, allude to Shakespeare's Poem, Heywood must have written his *Rape of Lucrece*, first published in 1608, before 1594. Drayton's lines are these:

"*Lucrece*, of whom proud Rome hath boasted long,
Lately reviv'd to live another age,
And here arriv'd to tell of Tarquin's wrong,
Her chaste denial, and the tyrant's rage,
Acting her passions on our stately stage;
She is remember'd, all forgetting me,
Yet I as fair and chaste as e'er was she."

The line, "*Acting her passions on our stately stage*," seems hardly to bear two interpretations. If Shakespeare's Poem were meant, why did Drayton omit the notice of it in subsequent editions of his *Matilda*? Was Drayton envious of Shakespeare's then established reputation? We are to recollect that they were rival dramatists, for Drayton wrote parts of two extant plays, *Sir John Oldcastle*, and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*. It deserves remark, also, that, in his *Matilda*, 1594, Drayton inserted a compliment to Spenser, which at a subsequent date he omitted:

"Though not like Colin and thy Britomart,
Yet loves as much, although he wants his art."

† John Webster was a writer for the stage in 1601, if not before that date, though the first edition of this play, (his ear-

Malevole, in Marston's *Malcontent*; Philaster, in Beaumont and Fletcher's play under that title; and Amintor, (mis-written, in all probability, Amintas) in *The Maid's Tragedy*, of the same Dramatists. I will insert the lines, which have little or no merit as poetry, whatever interest they may excite on account of the subject, and I will afterwards make a few observations upon them. They are entitled

"An Elegy on our late Protean Roscius, Richard Burbadge," and they begin, like the two other MS. copies I have mentioned above, very prosaically:

"Some skilful limner help me — if not so,
Some sad tragedian — to express my woe;"

and after a few couplets they proceed thus:

"No more young Hamlet, though but scant of breath,
Shall cry revenge for his dear father's death:

liest printed drama, with the exception of his share in *Sir Thomas Wyat*, 1607), did not appear until 1612. His first extant verses, (not noticed by you in your edition of his "Works," 4 vols. 8vo., 1830), were published in 1602, and were introductory of a Romance translated by Anth. Monday. Since you published your Webster, a copy of that poet's Pageant, called *Monuments of Honor*, which you were unable to procure, has come into the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. On the title-page the author does not call himself, as you have given it, "Tailor," but "Merchant Tailor," and in the dedication he tells Sir John Gore, the Lord Mayor for the year, that he had been "born free of the company." The title-page as given in the Biogr. Dramatica is very incorrect, but it is hardly worth while in this place to insert it at length. The Duke of Devonshire has several pieces of the same class, by Middleton and other eminent poets, the existence of which was not known to any compiler of lists of Pageants.

Poor Romeo never more shall tears beget
 For Juliet's love and cruel Capulet :*
 Harry shall not be seen as King or Prince,
 They died with thee, Dear Dick —
 Not to revive again. Jeronimo
 Shall cease to mourn his son Horatio:
 They cannot call thee from thy naked bed
 By horrid outcry ; and Antonio's dead.
 Edward shall lack a representative,
 And Crook-back, as befits, shall cease to live.
 Tyrant Macbeth, with unwash'd bloody hand,
 We vainly now may hope to understand.
 Brutus and Marcius henceforth must be dumb,
 For ne'er thy like upon our stage shall come,
 To charm the faculty of eyes and ears,
 Unless we could command the dead to rise.
 Vindex is gone, and what a loss was he!
 Frankford, Brachiano, and Malevole.
 Heart-broke Philaster, and Amintas too, †
 Are lost for ever ; with the red-hair'd Jew,

* Burbage, as Malone has remarked, was so fond of the name of Juliet, partly, perhaps, from having played Romeo with great success, that he christened his first daughter by it: she died in 1608, and having another daughter born in 1614, he again adopted it, as appears by the Register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, in which parish he resided. He had two sons, not mentioned by Malone, namely, Cuthbert, no doubt named after his uncle, Cuthbert Burbage, and William, very possibly so called in compliment to Shakespeare. There was a well-known bookseller of the name of Cuthbert Burbie, who published several plays of that time, and it has occurred to me, whether it might not be some corruption of the name of Cuthbert Burbage: the coincidence is, at all events, singular.

† Philaster and Amintor were, probably, two of Burbage's latest parts: the tragedy of *Philaster* was printed in 1620, and *The Maid's Tragedy* in 1619. From this Elegy, it is certain that they had been produced at the Globe or Blackfriars theatre before March 1619-20.

Which sought the bankrupt Merchant's pound of flesh,
By woman-lawyer caught in his own mesh.
What a wide world was in that little space,
Thyself a world, the Globe thy fittest place !
Thy stature small, but every thought and mood
Might thoroughly from thy face be understood,
And his whole action he could change with ease,
From ancient Lear to youthful Pericles.
But let me not forget one chieftest part
Wherein, beyond the rest, he mov'd the heart,
The griev'd Moor, made jealous by a slave,
Who sent his wife to fill a timeless grave,
Then slew himself upon the bloody bed.
All these and many more with him are dead.
Hereafter must our poets leave to write :
Since thou art gone, dear Dick, a tragic night
Will wrap our black-hung stage. He made a Poet,
And those who yet remain full surely know it ;
For having Burbadge to give forth each line,
It filled their brain with fury more divine.

Bad as these verses must have been originally, they certainly have been made worse by time. The MS., from which I copied them, was written at the latter end of the reign of Charles I., and, besides omissions, errors had no doubt crept in from frequent transcriptions. Sometimes, Burbage is personally addressed, and then suddenly the author changes from the second to the third person : it would be easy to complete the hemistich,

“ They died with thee, dear Dick,”

by the words, “ and not long since.” The line,

“ To charm the faculty of eyes and ears,”

is adopted from Hamlet's soliloquy at the close of

Act II.; but it is evident, by the rhyme, that the writer of this Elegy meant it to run,

"To charm the faculty of ears and eyes."

The conclusion, "He made a Poet," &c., has no individual reference, but alludes generally to the inspiration writers for the stage derived from the knowledge that Burbage was to give effect to the poetry they composed.

With regard to the characters he represented, the first line is remarkable, and proves that the words of the Queen during the fencing match, "He's fat and *scant of breath*," had a personal application to Burbage's corpulency. The author of the Elegy, farther on, informs us that Burbage's "stature" was "small," and there are several lines in the old play of *The First Part of Jeronimo*, (in which, probably, he acted, as well as in *The Spanish Tragedy*, which is, in fact, the second part of *Jeronimo*), showing that the character of the hero was written for a man of "small stature."* The passage in the Elegy,

"They cannot call thee from thy naked bed
By horrid outcry,"

is taken from a well-known and often quoted portion of *The Spanish Tragedy*, where Jeronimo, (or Hiero-

* So much is said about it, that the diminutive appearance of the actor must have been something remarkable. In one place Jeronimo says,

"I'll not be long away;
As *short my body*, long shall be my stay."

Again,

"My mind's a giant, though *my bulk be small*:"

nimo, as it is sometimes spelt), is waked out of his sleep by the shrieks of Bellimperia, and enters exclaiming,

“What outcry calls me from my naked bed,
And chills my throbbing heart with trembling fear?”

The line,

“Tyrant Macbeth, with *unwash'd bloody hand*,”

deserves attention in consequence of what Forman says of the tragedy in his time, that, “when Macbeth had murdered the King, the blood on his hands could not be washed off by any means.” The person whom the author of the Elegy calls Vindex, is, in fact, named Vendice, in Tourneur's tragedy. In this, as in Mr. Heber's MS., Othello is described as

and in the Epilogue, spoken by the hero, we meet with these lines:

“Embrace them and take friendly leave.

My arms are of the shortest,

Let your loves piece them out.”

Malone, conjecturing that Burbage was thirty when he married, supposes him to have been born about 1570. *The first part of Jeronimo*, not printed until 1605 (six years after the earliest known edition of the *Spanish Tragedy*), was acted, probably, in 1587, or 1588, when Burbage could hardly have reached his full growth, whatever that growth might afterwards have been; and this circumstance may account for the frequent allusion to his “small stature.” *The First Part of Jeronimo* is by no means so rare a play as Isaac Reed imagined: he knew of no copy but that in the Garrick collection, but there are, at least, five others.

“the grieved Moor;” but here we have the additional circumstance of the murder of Desdemona, and the description of Othello’s death, as represented by Burbage; namely, that after stabbing himself he naturally threw himself on the bed where lay the corpse of his beloved Desdemona, and did not tumble down upon the floor at a distance, as most of our modern actors represent it. Burbage did what Shakespeare meant, when he put the last couplet into Othello’s mouth —

“I kiss’d thee ere I kill’d thee : — No way but this,
Killing myself, to die upon a kiss.”

I have not remarked, that the juxta-position of Lear and Pericles in the preceding Elegy supports the position that Shakespeare was the author of both, because I have never entertained a doubt upon the subject. I believe that you think as I do, and I shall have a good deal more to say about Pericles hereafter.

Before I quit this tribute to Burbage, let me call your recollection to a quotation respecting him made by Malone, (Shakesp. by Boswell, iii, 185) from Flecknoe’s “Short Discourse of the English Stage,” appended to his *Loves Kingdom*, 1664, beginning, “he was a delightful Proteus,” going on, “he had all parts of an excellent orator,” and ending by just applause of his looks and gesture. Flecknoe having previously published this description as the character of “an excellent actor” in general, Malone doubted

whether it could be applied to Burbage in particular. He was not aware, nor do I recollect to have seen the fact noticed by any body else, that Flecknoe expressly fixes the character upon Burbage in his *Euterpe Reviv'd*, (consisting, as he states, of Epigrams made in the years 1672, 1673, and 1674,) the chief difference being, that he then put into verse very much what he had given in 1664 in prose. It is there entitled, "Of an excellent Actor, or the praises of Richard Burbadge : to Charles Hart ;" and, although Flecknoe could not well remember Burbage, he must have known many who had often seen him act, and wrote as follows from their testimony :

" Who did appear so gracefully on the stage,
He was the admir'd example of the age,
And so observ'd all your dramatic laws,
He ne'er went off the stage but with applause :
Who his Spectators and his Auditors
Led in such silent chains of the eyes and ears,
As none, whilst he on the stage his part did play,
Had power to speak, or look another way :
Who a delightful Proteus was, and could
Transform himself into what shape he would ;
And of an excellent Orator had all
In voice and gesture we delightful call.
Who was the soul of the stage, and we may say
'T was only he who gave life unto a play,
Which was but dead, as 't was by the author writ,
Till he by action animated it.
And finally, he did on the stage appear
Beauty to the eye and music to the ear.
Such even the nicest critics must allow
Burbadge was once, and such Charles Hart is now."

You will have observed, perhaps, that in the anonymous MS. Elegy on Burbage, one of the characters he is represented to have filled is that of Shylock, who is called "the red-hair'd Jew." This establishes that the part was dressed in an artificial red beard and wig, in order to render it more odious and objectionable to the audience. After the death of Burbage, in 1619-20, I do not recollect any trace of the performance of *The Merchant of Venice*, until Lord Lansdowne revived the play, in 1701, with alterations. So much does Shakespeare's production seem to have been forgotten in 1664, that Thomas Jordan made a ballad of it, and printed it as an original story (at least, without any acknowledgment), in his *Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie*, in that year.*

* Malone had seen this "scarce miscellany," as he truly calls it; but his copy, which he supposed to have been printed in 1662, was without date, and probably wanted the songs and ballads at the end, which were added in 1664. It contains a vast deal of curious theatrical matter, as well as the Prologue and Epilogue which Malone (Shakesp. by Boswell, iii., 128), quotes from it. Some part of it is repeated in Jordan's *Nursery of Novelties*, which was "printed for the Author," for he made no scruple of re-publishing the same pieces under different titles, and often left the dedications blank, to be filled up with a name whenever he met with a patron who was disposed to give him money for a presentation copy. The *Royal Arbor* comprises Pageants and parts of Pageants, Songs and Dialogues for city festivities; besides several speeches to General Monk at various halls, on his arriving in London. There is also a Prologue and Epilogue to Jordan's lost play, *Love hath found his Eyes, or Distractions*; a Prologue to an unknown comedy called *The Florentine Ladies*; a Pro-

In the same scarce little volume he also uses the plot of the serious part of *Much Ado about Nothing*, and of *The Winter's Tale*, both of which had been similarly laid by for a series of years, partly, perhaps, on account of the silencing of the theatres from and after 1642. This circumstance has hitherto escaped observation; and Jordan felt authorized to take such liberties with the story of *The Merchant of Venice*, that he has represented the Jew's Daughter, instead of Portia, as assuming the office of Assessor to the Duke of Venice in the trial-scene, for the sake of saving the life of the Merchant with whom she was in love. Here, also, he describes Shylock as having

logue to Daiborne's *Poor Man's Comfort*, on its revival, and several dramatic fragments, proving that plays were acted at the Red Bull and other theatres some time before the Restoration. We know little or nothing of Jordan's biography; but, from the following "Epitaph on Himself," at the end of his *Claraphil and Clarinda*, 12mo. n. d., it is clear that he was ill married.

"Nay, read and spare not, Passenger,
My sense is now past feeling,
Who to my grave a wound did bear
Within, past physic's healing.

"But do not, if thou mean to wed,
To read my story tarry,
Lest thou envy me this cold bed,
Rather than live to marry.

For a strong strife with a lewd wife,
(Worst of all ills beside),
Made me grow weary of my life,
So I fell sick and died.

a red beard, and mentions some other particulars of his dress and appearance, regarding which he doubtless spoke from the custom of the stage, Jordan having himself been an actor before the temporary suppression of theatres by the Puritans, though he could hardly have seen Burbage. Much cannot be said in favour of Jordan's ballad, or "Romance," as he terms it; but in connexion with Shakespeare it may be worth quoting, and I intend it to lead to something better presently.

THE FORFEITURE: A ROMANCE.

"Tune — Dear, let me now this evening die.

You that do look with Christian hue,
Attend unto my sonnet,
I'll tell you of as vile a Jew,
As ever wore a bonnet.
No Jew of Scotland I intend,
My story not so mean is:
This Jew in wealth did much transcend
Under the States of Venice.

Where he by usury and trade
Did much exceed in riches:
His beard was red; his face was made
Not much unlike a witch's.
His habit was a Jewish gown,
That would defend all weather;
His chin turn'd up, his nose hung down,
And both ends met together.*

* I have little doubt that the part of Shylock was originally played in a false nose as well as in a false beard. Of old, it was the custom so to dress Jews and usurers on the stage: we know that such was the case with Barabas, in Marlow's

Yet this deformed father had
 A daughter, and a wise one :
 So sweet a virgin never lad
 Did ever set his eyes on.
 He that could call this lady foul,
 Must be a purblind noddy ;
 But yet she had a Christian soul
 Lodg'd in a Jewish body.

Within the city there did live,
 The truth if you will search on't,
 One whose ill fate will make you grieve,
 A gallant Christian Merchant ;
 Who did abound in wealth and wit,
 In youth and comely feature,
 Whose love unto a friend was knit,
 As strong as bonds of nature.

A gentleman of good renown,
 But of a sinking fortune,
 Who having no estate of's own,
 Doth thus his friend importune :
 Friend, lend me but one thousand pound ;
 It shall again be paid ye,
 For I have very lately found
 A fair and wealthy lady.

Jew of Malta, written before 1593, in which Ithamore exclaims,

“ Oh, brave master, I worship your nose for this ;”

and Rowley, in his *Search for Money*, 1609, speaks in express terms of “ the artificial Jew of Malta's nose.” In Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, the hero, wishing to be mistaken for Leon, a rich usurer, puts on a false nose : he pays his addresses in this character to Samathis, who asks advice of her maid —

What shall I doe, Jaquine ?

Jaquine. Faythe, Mistris, take him.

Samathis. Oh, but he hath a great nose.

Jaquine. 'Tis no matter for his nose, for he's rich.

It would not be difficult to multiply similar instances.

The Merchant then makes this reply :—

Friend, I am out of treasure,
But I will make my credit fly
To do my friend a pleasure.
There is a Jew in town, (quoth he),
Who though he deadly hate me,
Yet cause my wealth is strong at sea,
This favour will not bate me.

When they were come unto the Jew,
He did demand their pleasure.
The Merchant answers, I of you
Would borrow so much treasure.
The Jew replies, You shall not ha't,
If such a sum would save ye,
Unless in three months you will pay 't,
Or forfeit what I'd have ye.

If at the three months end you do,
As you shall seal and sign to't,
Not pay the money which is due,
Where'er I have a mind to't,
I'll cut a pound out of your flesh.
The Merchant is contented,
Because he knew in half that time
His shipping would prevent it.

Ill news by every ship comes in,
His ships are drown'd and fired:
The Jew his forfeiture doth win,
For three months are expired.
He is arrested for the debt;
The Court must now decide it:
The flesh is due, and now the Jew
Is ready to divide it.

The Merchant's friend that had the gold,
Now being richly married,
Offered the sum down three times told
To have his friend's life spared.

'T would not be took, but straight steps in
One in Doctor's apparel,
Who though but young doth now begin
Thus to decide the quarrel.

Jew, we do grant that by the law
A pound of flesh your due is,
But if one drop of blood you draw,
We'll shew you what a Jew is :
Take but a pound, as 't was agreed,
Be sure you cut no further,
And cut no less, lest for the deed
You be arraign'd for murder.

The Jew enrag'd doth tear the bond,
And dares not do the slaughter.
He quits the Court, and then 't was found
The Doctor proves his daughter :
Who for the love she long time bore,
From a true heart derived,
To be his wife, and save his life
This subtle slight contrived.

The Court consent and they are wed.
For hatching of this slaughter
The Jew's estate is forfeited,
And given to his daughter.
She is baptiz'd in Christendom,
The Jew cries out he's undone.
I wish such Jews may never come
To England, nor to London."

This ballad is abundantly bad, but that founded upon the beautiful story of *The Winter's Tale* is even worse, not so much in point of conduct, since it more nearly follows the play, but in point of versification, which is adapted to a tune called *The Dream*. It is

headed "The jealous Duke, and the injur'd Dutchess : A story," and the scene is laid, not in Sicily and Bohemia, but in Parma and Padua. The persons who answer to Florizel and Perdita are on the point of entering the church to be married, when the two Dukes, their fathers, step in, first forbid the bans, and then sentence the pair to instant death. The following is one of the stanzas :

"Both are content, and are led on
Unto their
Execution.
They were to suffer both alike.
The Headsman's axe
Was up to strike.
Hold ! quoth the Shepherd, I bring strange news to
town !
The Dukes were both amazed,
And the axe was straight laid down.
This lady sixteen years ago did I find,
This paper and these jewels,
For the child is none of mine."

"Sad doggrel" as this undoubtedly is, I can with difficulty refrain from quoting the whole of it ; and, were you addressing me, instead of my writing to you, I think I should hardly forgive you if you omitted one word that in the remotest degree tended to illustrate, or was connected with Shakespeare. My persuasion is that these ballads were written, (and perhaps first printed on broadsides), when no plays were allowed to be acted, and when they were taken by the people as some substitute for the amusements of a different kind of which they had been

deprived. That founded upon the loves of Claudio and Hero, in *Much ado about Nothing*, is a trifle better, as the following stanzas, referring to the marriage preparations, will show :

“The costly garments and the wedding cheer
Provided is, for now the day draws near :
The Bridemen and the Bridemaids are made fit
To wait upon their virtue and their wit,
And, till the day, long looked for, doth appear,
Each hour’s a day, and every day a year.

The brother that was hatefully inclin’d,
Did yet appear to bear a better mind,
And seem’d as much to like the match as they,
That every hour did wish the wedding day :
But, mark what follows, and you’ll quickly be
Assur’d ’twas nothing but hypocrisy.”

Jordan seems sometimes to avoid giving names, or uses wrong ones, perhaps, lest his sources should be discovered : here he makes the two persons, who answer to Claudio and Don Pedro, brothers, and not friends, as in Shakespeare. He afterwards degenerates in his versification, and concludes in the following strain :

“She tells her master how they had been us’d,
And by the Bridegroom’s brother thus abus’d ;
Which, when the Bride and Bridegroom knew, they then
With joint consent go to the Church again,
Where they did knit a knot until they die,
Which men and Angels never shall untie.”

There can be no doubt that Jordan took his incidents from the play, and not from any version of

Ariosto's tale (Orl. Fur. b. v.,) which is also found in Bandello and Belleforest, because in this portion of his *Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie* he inserts other ballads, derived from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, Wilkins's *Miseries of Inforced Marriage*, Rowley's *Match at Midnight*, Shirley's *Witty Fair One*, &c. That from which I have last quoted, founded upon *Much ado about Nothing*, is entitled "The Revolution: A Love-story—Tune, *No man loves fiery passions.*"

If I am tedious you must forgive me, for, as our dear friend Dogberry says, "if I were as tedious as a King, I could find in my heart to bestow it all upon your worship" upon such a subject; but, I promised to furnish you with something better, and I shall proceed to do so.

In my letter to my friend, Amyot, published some few months ago, I quoted more than once from a volume of MS. Ballads, collected, as I conjecture, about the date of the Protectorate, when old broadsides were becoming scarce, and new ones far from abundant, as the Puritans set their faces against anything like popular amusements. I apprehend that most of those in the volume were copied from printed originals, many of which are now lost, while others are yet preserved in public and private collections. There is not one that has not merit of some kind or other, and several are beautiful specimens of that species of composition: as only comparatively

few are included in modern reprints, I hope some day or other to be able to venture upon the expense of printing the volume entire; but at present I find so few who take an interest in such productions, or indeed in any productions that are at all antiquarian, that I cannot afford to incur the risk. Perhaps before I go farther you would not object to see a list of the ballads, thirty in number, accompanied by a remark or two, showing which have and which have not been printed, and other circumstances, as far as my search has extended.

1. The Wiltshire Tragedy, by T. Deloney, relating to a murder committed by Lord Stourton. Not printed.
2. The Fight of Flodden, by the same, and printed in his *Jack of Newbury*, but with additions in the MS.
3. Jeptha and his Daughter, by Richard Johnson, the complete ballad, and not imperfect, as in Percy's *Reliques*.
4. Robinhood and the Pedlars. Anonymous; a very spirited ballad, and not printed.
5. The Girl worth Gold, by Chettle; on the same story as Heywood's play, *The Fair Maid of the West*.
6. The Lark and her Family, by A. Bower, twice printed before 1590.
7. The Weaver's Song, by T. Deloney, and printed imperfectly in his *Jack of Newbury*.
8. Tragedy of Othello the Moor. Anonymous, but following Shakespeare's Tragedy very closely. Not printed.
9. A Ballad, How to wive well, by Lewis Evans, printed before 1580.
10. Fair Rosamond's Overthrow, by T. Deloney; materially differing in every stanza from the printed copies.
11. Tarlton's Jig of the Horse-load of Fools; no doubt as written and sung by him originally at the Curtain Theatre, prior to 1588. Not printed.

12. The Enchanted Island, subscribed R. G., possibly Robert Greene, and on the same tale as Shakespeare's *Tempest*. Not printed.
13. A merry new Ballad of a Maid that would marry a Serving-man, by Thomas Elmley. Printed before 1580.
14. The London 'Prentice's Tragedy, by Thomas Heywood, probably the foundation of some unknown play. Not printed.
15. Mary Ambree. Anonymous, and being a different version, with many additions, of the ballad in Percy's *Reliques*.
16. The Fair Maiden from Scotland, by Shawe. The scene laid in the time of Edward I. Not printed.
17. The Cruel Uncle. Anonymous. It is the ballad of "The Babes in the Wood," with many variations.
18. Mrs. Page's Lamentation and good Night, by Horton. There was a play, now lost, regarding the murder she committed. Not printed.
19. A new Ballad of a Pennyworth of Wit, and the Answer. Anonymous. The Answer is imperfect. Not printed.
20. The Cripple of Cheapside, by T. Dekker.* The story is similar to Heywood's play, *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*.

* I have in my possession a MS. poem by this celebrated poet and dramatist, which probably was never printed, or the writer of the MS. would not have copied it. It is nowhere mentioned, and has for title, "Paul, his Temple Triumphant, or a new Walke there up the Steppes, where better musicke is heard then in the Middle Isle amongst the Confusion of Languages." It is dedicated by Tho. Dekker, to Simon English, "Counsellor at Law," and the author tells him, "My Muse thought to have magnified Sir Paul Pindar, (for to him they went on my errand), but a sicke man cannot be more teastie to heare a fidler under his window, then he was with the poore Muse * * *. What an unnecessary charge doe these men put theyr judgements to in slighting all but theyr owne coate! Upon a poett, especially, they looke with a frontispicious superciliosity — I care not; I am even with them, for my pen dares doe that which (out of selfe will) they are sullen to venture on — I license my selfe." In the beginning of the poem

21. The Spanish Tragedy, by T. K., (*forsan* Thomas Kyd).
Printed, but in many respects different from any known
copies.
22. The Atheist's Tragedy. Anonymous. Not printed: the
subject is the death of Christopher Marlow, the Poet.*

Dekker states that he was sixty years old, and the greater
part of it is of a pious character. It is followed by "A new
Ballad of the Dauncing on the Ropes," also subscribed Tho.
Dekker, of a very different description. It opens thus:

"I singe a wonder strange,
But not so strange as true,
Of a woeman that daunces on the ropes,
And soe does her husband too.
With a trang dildoe dee,
With a trang dildoe dee:
To see her come Knights and gay Ladies,
And squires of low degree."

The rest is not very quotable.

* This ballad is very remarkable in a biographical point of
view: it professes to relate to one Wormal, which name is
only the letters of Marlow's name misplaced for the sake of
concealment, as it was probably written and printed soon after
the poet's death in 1593. Among many others, it contains
these stanzas:

"A poet was he of repute,
And wrote full many a playe;
Now strutting in a silken sute,
Then begging by the way.

He had alsoe a player beene
Upon the Curtaine stage,
But brake his leg in one lewd scene,
When in his early age."

Afterwards the writer proceeds thus:

"His lust was lawlesse as his life,
And brought about his death;
For in a deadlie mortall strife,
Striving to stop the breath

23. Tom Tiler and his Wife. Anonymous. The same story as the old play first published in 1578, and again in 1661. Not printed.
24. King Henry's Children drowned at Sea, by T. Deloney, and printed in *Strange Histories*, 1607.
25. The Mad Maiden. Anonymous, but this ballad seems imperfect. Not printed.
26. Dialogue between Queen Elizabeth and England, by W. Birche. Only the conclusion of a ballad printed soon after Elizabeth came to the throne.
27. The Green Willow, by J. H. Perhaps John Heywood. Not printed.
28. The King and the Beggarmaid, by Richard Johnson, and printed with important differences in Percy's *Reliques*.
29. Robinhood and the Tanner's Daughter, by T. Fleming. Not printed.
30. The Courage of Kentishmen, by T. Deloney, and printed in *Strange Histories*, 1607.

You will observe that two of these are intimately connected with Shakespeare, numbered respectively 8 and 12 in the preceding list. The first, *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor*, there can be no doubt was written subsequently to Shakespeare's tragedy: it was founded upon the play in consequence of its popularity, and not the play upon it. You shall judge of it for yourself, and, though apparently older, it is

Of one who was his rivall foe,
With his owne dagger slaine,
He groan'd, and word spoke never moe,
Pierc't through the eye and braine."

The author regrets that Marlow, instead of turning Atheist and Poet, did not follow his father's trade; and, in a copy of *Beard's Theatre of God's Judgments*, 1598, where the death of Marlow is noticed, it is stated, in a contemporaneous handwriting, that his father was a shoemaker at Canterbury.

vastly superior to any of Jordan's versions already noticed. You will find that it varies slightly from the play, and that it makes Iago a Spaniard, as indeed his name indicates. This change was perhaps made in accordance with the prejudice of the time when it was written, possibly about 1625, after the breaking off of the Spanish Match.* It is as follows, and here I preserve the spelling of the MS., since it may aid in some degree in fixing the age of the production :

THE TRAGEDIE OF OTHELLO THE MOORE.

The foule effects of jealousie,
Othelloe's deadly hate,
Iagoe's cruell treacherie,
And Desdemonae's fate,

* In this year was printed Middleton's *Game at Chess*, which gave such offence to the Spanish Ambassador, that the Players at the Globe, who produced it in August, 1624, were silenced for a time. It is generally said to have been printed in 1624, all the copies hitherto known being without date; but it did not in fact issue from the press until 1625, as I have an impression with a printed title, but without name of printer or stationer, of that date. It runs thus: "A Game at Chesse. As it was acted nine dayes together at the Globe on the Bank-side, &c. Printed 1625." A MS. of the play, preserved at Bridgewater House, shows that it was brought out by the bookseller most imperfectly, lines being often omitted, and the grossest corruptions introduced. Thus on the first page Loyola is made to say,

" 'Tis not five years since I was *saluted* by 'em;
instead of "*sainted* by 'em;" and again on the same page,
" Their prosperous Institutor, when they had *saluted*."

It appears by an original letter from Lord Pembroke, then Lord Chamberlain, dated the 27th of August, 1624, preserved in the State Paper Office, and which was discovered there only

In this same ballad you may reade,
If soe you list to bye,
Which tells the blackest, bloodiest deede
Yet ever seen with eye.

In Venice City, long time since,
A noble Moore did live,
Who to the daughter of a Prince
In secrecie did wive.
She was as faire as he was blacke,
A sunshine and a cloude:
She was as milde as playfull childe,
But he was fierce and proude.

And lovde he her, as well he might,
For deerlie she lovde him :
She doated on his brow of night,
And on each swarthie limbe.
Othello was this noble Moore,
A Souleir often tride,
Who many victories did procure
To swell Venetian pride.

Faire Desdemona was the name
This lovelie ladie bare :
Her father had great wealth and fame,
And she his onelie heire.
Therefore, when he at length found out
His daughter thus was wed,
To breake their bonds he cast about,
But onelie firmer made.

And much rejoiced he to know,
And to that end did worke,
The State his wife would part him fro
To fight against the Turke.

recently, that the King's Players at the Globe were silenced for about a week, and that they were not allowed to play again until they had given bond in £300 not to repeat the performance of the *Game at Chess*.

But she ne would remaine behinde,
For that she did not wed ;
She 'd live and die with one so kinde,
And soe she plainlie said.

The Turkes the while did threat the Isle
Of Cyprus with a fray,
And thither must Othello speede
And that without delaye.
To Cyprus steere they both, nor feare
Could touch the lady's hart ;
The Lord she lovde she knew was neare,
Whom death should not depart.

But when they came to Cyprus Isle
To her great joye they found,
That heaven had fought the fight the while ;
The Turkes were sunk and drownd.
A storme had late assailde their fleete,
That most of them were lost :
And you will owne it was most meete
The crescent should be crost.

Now, while upon the Isle they stayde,
The luckelesse lotte befell,
By a false Spaniard's wicked ayde,
Which I am now to tell.
He was the Antient to the Moore,
For he so closelie wrought,
He held him honest, trusty, sure,
Until he found him nought.

Iago was the monster's name,
Who lovde the lady long ;
But she denied his sute and claime,
Though with a gentle tongue.*

* We hear nothing in Shakespeare of any absolute declaration on the part of Iago, or of any rejection on the part of

For this he silent vengeance vowd
 Upon the happie Moore,
 And tooke a way without delay
 To make his vengeance sure.

There was a Captain of the band,
 And Cassio was his name,
 In happie moode by nature pland,
 Of strong and lustie frame:
 He was Lieftenant to the Moore,
 A post of trust and weight,
 And therefore he must partner bee
 Of the foule traitor's hate.

He whisper'd at Othelloe's backe *
 His wife had chaungde her minde,
 And did not like his sootie blacke,
 As he full soone would finde;
 But much preferrd the ruddie dye
 Of her owne countreyemen;
 And bade him keepe a warie eye
 On her deportment then.

Tut, tut, then quoth the hastie Moore,
 Deepe as the throat you lye.
 I wish I did, quoth he, for sure
 Much liefer would I die,

Desdemona. Such a circumstance would have somewhat detracted from the purity and innocence of the character of the heroine, and Shakespeare properly avoided it. Perhaps the writer of the ballad means, that Othello and Iago had been rivals for the love of Desdemona before marriage; but, had such been the case, it would not only have seemed to put the General and his Antient too much on an equality, but would have given Othello a strong reason for suspecting the honesty of Iago.

* This line may perhaps serve to show the mode in which the actor of the part of Iago infused his poison into Othello's ear, standing behind, in order to avoid as much as possible the keen inspection of his countenance by the Moor.

Then see what I my selfe have seene.
What have you seene? he cride —
What onelie would become a queane,
Not my deare general's bride.

Ile heare no more, Othello said:
That I am blacke is true,
And she is faire as morning ayre
But that she always knew.
Well onelie keepe a warie eye
Upon her actions now:
Cassio's the man, I do not lye,
As you will soone allowe.

You thought she lovde you, that she came
With you to this hot Isle:
Cassio was with you, and the dame
On him did closelie smile.
I needes must grieve to see my Lord
So wantonly deceived:
Thus far I prithee take my word,
It is to be believed.

O god, what prooffe hast thou of this,
What prooffe that she is foule?
Prooffe you would have — tis not amis,
Ile give it on my soule.*

Cassio will talke you in his sleepe,
And speakes then of your wife.
He cannot anie secret keepe
An it would save his life.
This shoves that he may love my wife,
The doubting Moore replied;
And if tis true she loves him too,
Better they both had died.

* Nothing can have been lost here according to the sense, but in the MS. four lines are wanting to the completion of the stanza in the same form as the rest of the ballad.

Behold, my Lord, Iago said,
Know you this token true?
And then a handkerchiefe displaid,
Which well Othello knewe.
Twas one he Desdemona gave
When they were wedded first,
Wrought with embroiderie so brave:
With rage he well nie burst.

Whence got you that, whence got you that?
Tell me or instant die!
She gave it Cassio, but thereat
Why roll your yellow eye?
It is but one of tokens more
That he, I know, can bost;
And she has his, no doubt, good store,
I recke not which has most.*

Now, this same well knowne handkercheife
That very morne he stole,
And thus the cruel vengeful theife
Rackde brave Othelloes soule.
His wife was true, and pure as dewe
Upon the lillie white.
No bounds his tamelesse passion knew
But rushing from the sight,

He sought his lady as she layde
Within her virgin bed,
And there his hands of blackest shade
He dyed to gory red:

* According to Shakespeare, Iago does not produce the handkerchief to Othello, for if he had done so how would Othello have known that Iago had not himself stolen it, or that it had ever been in Cassio's possession? Shakespeare's Iago only asserts that he had observed Cassio wipe his beard with such a handkerchief. Afterwards, Othello sees it in Cassio's hand, and in the last scene asks him how he came by it?

But first he chargde her with the crime,
Which ever she denyed,
And askt but for a little time
To prove the traytor lyed.

O, twas a piteous sight to see
A thing so meeke and faire,
Torne with such salvage crueltie,
By her long lovelie haire.*
Then came the caitiffe to rejoyce
His blacke hart with the viewe,
But soone twas provde by many a voice
The Ladie had beene true.

Twas provde the handkerchiefe he stole,
And then the same he layde
Where Cassio for a suertie came,
That he might be betrayde.†
Othello stood as one distraught
To heare what thus was showne,
That Desdemona, even in thought,
To sinne had never knowne.

He fomde, he stampd, he ravde, he tore,
To thinke upon his deede,
Then struck Iago to the floore, ‡
But onelie made him bleede.

* This is a circumstance not at all warranted by the original, although it is possible that some actors of the part of Othello, after Burbage, in order to produce effect, displayed more "savage cruelty" in the commission of the murder than is at all supported by Shakespeare's text.

† These lines are hardly consistent with the former part of the ballad, where it is stated that Iago produced the handkerchief to Othello. What is here said is quite in accordance with the tragedy.

‡ From this line we may infer that the actor of the part of Iago fell, after having been wounded by Othello.

For deadliest tortures he was savde,
 And suffring them he dide :
 A lesson milde to traytors vilde,
 May such them still betide.

Upon his Desdemonae's coarse
 Othello cast him than,
 In agonie of deepe remorse,
 A broken harted man.
 With charitie, he said, relate
 What you this day have seene,
 Thinke once how well I servde the state,
 And what I once have beene.

Then with the dagger, that was wet
 With his deare Ladies bloud,
 He stabde him selfe and thus out let
 His soule in gory flood.
 This storie true you oft times knew,
 By actors playde for meede ;
 But still so well, twas hard to tell
 If twas not truth in deede.

Dicke Burbidge, that most famous man,
 That actor without peere,
 With this same part his course began,
 And kept it manie a yeare.*
 Shakespeare was fortunate, I trow,
 That such an actor had.
 If we had but his equall now
 For one I should be glad.

Finis.

* As Burbage " began his course " as an actor many years before Othello was written, the meaning of the author of this ballad may be that Burbage played the part of Othello originally and retained it until his death. Otherwise, we must take it as a mere guess, and not a happy one, that Burbage commenced as an actor in Othello. The great probability is, that Burbage was upon the stage, as a boy, when Shakespeare first joined the company in 1586, or 1587.

The word "Finis" was originally followed by the name of the author, which has been erased so as to leave no trace, and you will admit at once, that such a ballad was worth owning by any of our poets who followed Shakespeare. In my letter to my friend Amyot, I hastily ventured an opinion that it might be the production of Thomas Jordan; but, on reconsideration, and comparing it with what I have already quoted from his pen, I cannot help thinking that it is much too good, and somewhat too old, for him, whose earliest tract (*Poetical Varieties*, containing elegies on two players, Gunnell and Honieman,*) was printed in 1637. Burbage was of course dead, and it is certainly a mistake to assert that he began his course with Othello, although within the last few weeks I have found proof that Othello was written, not in 1604, according to Malone's Chronology, (Shakesp. by Boswell, iii, 401,) but certainly as early as 1602. In the month of August, of that year, it was played by the company usually performing at the Blackfriars theatre in the winter, and at the Globe in the spring, summer, and autumn.

This important fact I learn from the detailed ac-

* Richard Gunnell was one of the Palsgrave's Players, in 1621, and in the following year was at the head of the company which occupied the Fortune theatre. John Honieman was a member of the King's Company, in 1628, but he does not seem to have filled a very prominent station. Jordan's poems upon their deaths do not contain any information of a biographical kind.

counts preserved at Bridgewater House, in the handwriting of Sir Arthur Mainwaring,* of the expences incurred by Sir Thomas Egerton, afterwards Lord Ellesmere, in entertaining Queen Elizabeth and her Court for three days at Harefield. It is headed,

31^o. July et 1^o. et 2^o. Augusti. 1602, the Queenes
Matie beeing at Harefield iij nights”—

and it includes the following particulars among many others: the dates seem to refer to the time when the money was paid—

3 Aug. 1602.	Rewardesto several offices in her Maties house and to perticular persons there	66	12	4
6 Aug. 1602.	Rewardesto the Vaulters Players and Dauncers. Of this £10 to Bur- bidge's players for Othello . . .	64	18	10
	Rewarde to Mr. Lyllyes man which brought the Lottery-boxe to Harefield, per Mr. Andr. Leigh	0	10	0
20 Aug. 1602.	Payd more by me for Lotterye guiftes, as by my booke and by bill also appeareth, being paid to Mr. Stewarde	18	2	9

No outlay seems to have been spared on this great occasion, and the three days' entertainment of the Queen cost the Lord Keeper a sum considerably ex-

* Sir Arthur Mainwaring was incidentally implicated in the case of Sir Thomas Overbury; and in Thomas Bone's letter, before quoted, it is said that Mrs. Turner procured from Dr. Forman a love-powder, in order that she might obtain the affections of Sir Arthur, by whom she subsequently had children.

ceeding £10,000 of our present money. What other companies of actors were employed is not stated; but, as the whole sum for "Vaulters, Players, and Dancers" was £64 18s. 10*d.* (equal now to more than £300) of which Burbidge's players, that is to say, the company of the Blackfriars and Globe, received £10 (besides, perhaps, an allowance for travelling) it is possible that, on each of the three days of the Queen's stay at Harefield, different bodies of actors exhibited; but, if so, it is singular that only one play and one company should be specified.

It is indisputable, from this evidence, that *Othello* was acted at Harefield in 1602: consequently, Malone's conjecture of 1604, as the date of its composition, must be wrong. Why he fixed upon this year is not very intelligible, because his arguments tend to establish that it was produced soon after 1601. Perhaps it is not too much to presume that the dramas represented on these joyous occasions for the amusement of Elizabeth were usually new and popular performances: *Othello* was unquestionably popular, and most likely new, in 1602.

While upon a point of this kind, I may take occasion to say that Malone is probably in error in assigning 1599 as the date of the first production of *As you like it*. In a very rare little volume of Poems, entitled "Of Love's Complaints, with the Legend of Orpheus and Euridice," printed in 1597, occurs the following

stanza, which will immediately bring to your recollection Shakespeare's Seven Ages :—

“ Unhappy man, the subject of misfortune
Born, and therefore born to misery ;
Whose very birth doth coming woe importune,
Whose life a sad continual tragedy,
Himself the Actor in the world, the stage,
While as the Acts are measur'd by his age.”

In cases of this sort, I always conclude that Shakespeare, with such exhaustless stores of mind, was not the borrower but the lender ; and if the anonymous Author of *Love's Complaints* adopted a thought from Shakespeare, which I apprehend he did, *As you like it* must have been written before 1597. However, this is conjecture : what relates to Othello is fact.

We have thus seen the company of players, of whom Shakespeare was one, and for which he wrote all his dramas, employed by Sir Thomas Egerton, in 1602. In 1600, the Lord Keeper had married the Dowager Lady Derby, and with other MSS. preserved at Bridgewater House, are several which belonged to her — among them the *Masque at Ashby*, by John Marston, with an autograph dedication and a pastoral poem at the end, in his hand-writing.* There also

* Marston was a man of very strong understanding and a severe satirist ; but, as a dramatic poet, several of his contemporaries went beyond him. The *Masque* above referred to has little merit. The pastoral is thus entitled, “ The Eglouge which a dispairing Shepheard spak to a Nymph at my Lady's

exists a poetical relic, of which I am now about to speak, and which, although I believe it to be his, I have some hesitation in assigning to Shakespeare.

It is subscribed W. Sh. as I read it, but there is a

departure"—The Lady was Alice, Countess of Derby: it opens with these stanzas —

Stay, faire Beliza, and whilst Heaven throws
 On the crackt earth
 His burning breath,
 O, heare thy Dorus woes,
 Whose cause and cure only Beliza knowes.

See, now the God of Flames in full pompe rides,
 And now each Lass
 On flowery grass,
 By the coole fountain sides
 With quiett boosome and soft ease abides.

Doe you so, too, for see the bounteous spring
 Praise thee sitt downe:
 Then shall I crowne
 Thy browes with flowery ring,
 Whilst thus with shepheards homely voice I sing."

The Shepherd sings, and then a dialogue commences between him and the Shepherdess: it ends by his presenting her with a scarf, with these words—

"From which, O, daine to give this touch:
 Who gives what he can, yett gives much;"

which seems imitated from Berni, and we know that Marston was acquainted with Italian.

Quanto io posso dar, tutto vi dono.

The Rev. H. J. Todd, in his introduction to Milton's *Arcades*, gives quotations from Marston's *Masque*, but, I think, does not mention this autograph pastoral.

slight indentation in the middle of the last stroke of the letter *h*, which gives it something of the appearance of a *k*, but I take it to have been produced by a trifling want of firmness in the hand that held the pen. The main body of the production seems to me to bear a resemblance to the writing of Shakespeare, as we have it in the only extant specimens, although the signature is different. I have no doubt that Shakespeare wrote a good clear hand, such as that of the MS. in question, for in his *Hamlet* (Act v. Sc. 2, Caldecott's Edition) he ridicules the affectation of not writing plainly :

" I sat me down ;
Devis'd a new Commission ; wrote it fair.
I once did hold it, as our statists do,
A baseness to write fair."—

Supposing the signature to be W. Sk. there is no known author of the time to whom such an abbreviation can apply ; and the only contemporary poet whose initials accord with those of Shakespeare is Wentworth Smith,* whose hand-writing occurs more than once in Henslowe's Diary : in the MS. to which I refer we have the additional and distinctive letter *h* — not merely W. S., but W. Sh. The versification is certainly that of a practised writer, and it possesses as much merit as can well belong to a piece of the kind.

* Dr. William Strode, or Stroud, by whom many poems are found in the MS. miscellanies of the time, was only seventeen at the death of Shakespeare : he died in 1644, and in 1655 a play by him called *The Floating Island* was printed.

The exact nature of the complimentary performance in which it was employed cannot now be distinctly ascertained, but it seems to have been a species of lottery, and possibly the very one the box for which, we have seen, was brought to Harefield by "Mr. Lyllye's man," in August, 1602, when the company of actors to which Shakespeare belonged played one of his own dramas. The connexion, therefore, between our great Poet and Harefield is obvious. From the MS. we may collect that hearts were hung as fruit upon an artificial tree, each lady of the company gathering one, and finding a poetical motto within, or upon it, applicable to the individual. In his remarks upon amusements of this kind, Flecknoe* says that "all the wit and art is to contrive the lots as may best fit the qualities of every one," and such was no doubt the object of Shakespeare in this instance.

* In a very rare tract, which I do not find mentioned in any list of Flecknoe's works: it is called "A Treatise of the Sports of Wit," and it was "printed for the Author," 1675. The occasion of it he states to be his presence and assistance at Bersell, near Brussels, in 1650, when the Duchess of Loraine and Mademoiselle de Beauvois were there, and were every evening amused by a different species of entertainment, in which they personally aided. He states that he wrote his *Loves Kingdom* in imitation of a pastoral represented at Bersell, and he gives a particularly long account of the mode of acting Proverbs, with a list of those performed. At the end of the little volume are "additional Epigrams of the year 1674," the last Flecknoe ever published. Flecknoe is imambered, if I may coin the word, in Dryden's history, but he was not without talents.

The paper has no date nor title, but runs *literatim* as follows :

I. LA : DERBY.

As this ys endelesse, endelesse be your ioye ;
Valew the wish and not the wishers toye,
And for one blessinge past god sende youe seven,
And in the ende the endelesse ioyes of heaven.
Till then let this be all your crosse,
To have discomfort or your losse.

II. LA : HUNTINGDON.

Alas, your fortune shoulde be better ;
Still must your servant be your detter :
Since nothinge equalls your desert,
Accept your servants faythfull hart.

III. LA : HUNSDON.

O, be not proude, though wyse and faire :
Beautie's but earth, wytt ys but ayre.
As youe ar virtuous be not cruell,
Accept good will more then a Jewell.

IV. LA : BERCKLY.

Wyttie, prettie, vertuous and faire,
Compounded all of fyer and ayre,
Sweete, measure not my thoughts and mee
By goulden fruict from fruitles tree.

V. LA : STANHOPE.

O Philomela, fayre and wise,
What meanes your friend to tiranize,
And make youe still complaine of wronge ?
Henceforth his praise shalbe your songe,
Which none (but youe) can singe so well,
When none his trewe Love shall excell.

VI. LA : COUMPTON.

What may be saide of youe and yours ?
Youe are his ioye, yours he procures.

He doth your virtues much adore,
Youe reverence his as much, or more.
Drawe where youe list, for in this tree
Your fortune can not bettered bee.

VII. LA: FIELDING.

Fye ! Let it never make youe sadd,
Whether your chaunce bee good or badd.
Yf your Love give but halff his heart,
The devill take the other part.

VIII. M^{is} GRESLEY.

The fruict that is to earlie gotten,
In the eatinge may prove rotten.
If your Loves hart doe prove vntrue,
The falt ys theirs that chose for youe.

IX. M^{is} PACKINGTON.

In Love asuredlie ys hee
That sendes this poore pale hart to thee :
As ere youe hope to bee regarded,
Praie that his faythe may be rewarded.

X. M^{is} K. FISCHER.

Whoe sayth thou art not faire and wise,
This paper tells him that he lyes :
The worst thinge that I knowe by thee
Ys, that (I feare) thou loust not mee.

XI. M^{is} SAYCHOUERELL.

Although this hart fallse coulored bee,
Sweet fayre one, thinke not soe of mee ;
For hee that this poore token sendes
Was euer trewe to all his freindes.

XII. M^{is} M. FISHER.

Good Lord, howe curteous I am growne
To give so many harts awaye ;

But since that I haue lost myne owne,
Yf I had twentie none shoulde staye.

XIII. M^{is} DAVERS.

All evill Fortune hast thou myst.
Great is the virtue of the Amatist:
Yf (Amat iste) thou mayst saie,
Then blest ys such a weddinge daie.

XIV. M^{is} EGERTON.

What lucke had youe to staye so long.
Fortune (not I) hath donne youe wrong;
The harts are gone without recall:
Woulde I had power to please youe all!

W. Sh.

Whether this production be or be not Shakespeare's, it is certainly worth preserving, and I see no reason for disbelieving it to be his, excepting, as has been often remarked, that he appears from early life to have devoted himself to the theatre only, and not to have sought employment in the preparation of masques, shows, or entertainments for private societies.* However, after all that has been discovered

* The Germans take a keen and active interest in all that respects Shakespeare, and the late English Professor at the University of Heidelberg communicated to me the following stanzas, written in a Common-place Book of the time, preserved in the Hamburgh City Library. They are subscribed W. S., and are dated 1606, and I am told have been looked upon by Anglo-Germans as the production of Shakespeare.

"My thoughts are wing'd with hopes, my hopes with love:
Mount, Love, unto the Moone in clearest night,
And say, as she doth in the heavens move,
In earth so wanes and waxeth my delight.

and written, we really know so little about him that it is almost impossible to arrive at what even approaches certainty upon any point, excepting that he was the greatest dramatic poet that ever lived.

When I sat down to write, I intended to include within the compass of this communication all I had to produce about Shakespeare that is new; but this letter is quite long enough, and the ballad on the same story as the *Tempest*, some curious particulars about *Pericles*, and other matters respecting our great

And whisper this but softly in her eares,
How oft doubt hangs the head and trust sheds teares!

“ And you my thoughts that seeme mistrust to carie,
If for mistrust my mistress you do blame,
Saie, though you alter yet you do not varie
As she doth change, and yet remaine the same.
Distrust doth enter hartes, but not infect,
And love is sweetest season'd with suspect.

“ If shee for this with cloudes do mask her eyes,
And make the heavens dark with her disdaine,
With windie sighes disperse them in the skyes,
Or with thy teares derobe them into rayne.
Thoughts, hopes, and love return to me no more,
Till Cynthia shine as she hath done before.”

I do not recollect these lines in any other author, and they certainly read much in Shakespeare's manner. The book where they are preserved originally belonged to an Englishman. The hand-writing is in some places not very legible, and I suspect that *derobe* in the last stanza ought to be *dissolve*, which being of old written *desolve* might be easily mistaken for *derobe*.

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dramatist, his minor poems, and his connexion with his contemporaries, must be postponed to a future occasion. I am,

My dear Dyce,

Your's most sincerely,

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

London, January 11th, 1836.

P.S. Since writing, and in part printing, what precedes, I have met with a confirmation of the fact that there were *two plays* upon the events of the reign of Richard II. The evidence is contained in the following stanza, from a rare poem called *The Whipping of the Satyre*, 1601, 12mo.

"I dare here speake it, and my speach mayntayne,
That Sir John Falstaffe was not any way
More grosse in body, then you are in brayne:
But whether should I (helpe me now I pray)
For your grosse brayne you like J. Falstaffe graunt,
Or for small wit suppose you John of Gaunt?"

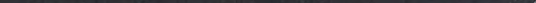
"Small wit" means here *weak understanding*, which certainly is not a characteristic of Shakespeare's John of Gaunt. Probably the author of the above stanza referred to the Duke of Lancaster, in the historical play seen by Forman, who cut off the head of the "wise man" whom he had foolishly consulted.

FINIS.

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